FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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THE TIMES TO COME.

The moon that borrows now a gentle light
Once burned another sun; then from on high
The earth received a double day; the sky
Showed but faint stars, and never knew a night.
The poles, now frigid and forever white
With the deep snows that on their bosoms lie,
Were torrid as the moon that hung thereby
And mingled rays as fiercely hot as bright.
Mutations infinite! Through shifting sea
And lands huge monstrous beasts once took their range
Where now our stately world shows pleasantly!
Then be not fearful at the thought of change,
For though unknown the times that are to be,
Yet shall they prove most beautifully strange.

—Charles A. Houfe.

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THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY.

Is it right that eight men should lay down the laws by which seven shall be governed? What mysterious power or what remarkable qualification do the former possess that the latter do not have? From whence do the eight derive the right by which they are to rule over seven? Where did the idea ever originate that the majority could be made equal to the whole body, and that as such it could take its place and make laws in its name? I have never yet heard these questions answered. Indeed, it is seldom that I have known such question to be raised. In fact, people would no more think of questioning the right of the majority to rule than they would of denying the authenticity of the scriptures.

Yet what the majority does is not what the mass does, and what the one wills has nothing to do with what the other wills. The majority, so far from involving or absorbing the minority, proceeds entirely independent of it and ignores its existence entirely. That is the way the majority always governs. So far from the whole body having a voice in the matter, its wishes are never consulted, and its rights and interests are always trampled under foot. In fact, under our present system, where numbers alone count, the existence of a whole is ignored, and all the questions that come up are those which are to be settled between the majority on one side and the minority on the other. The number fifteen is of no consequence. It is the eight to seven that always determines the result.

What the majority decides is not what the minority decides, and therefore the latter cannot be bound by the former's action. The eight and the seven are as distinct from each other and as independent as any two groups possibly could be. Indeed, the idea of their belonging to the same group is something entirely imaginary. There is nothing reasonable or just in one man's exercising authority over another; and the case is not bettered at all by eight men undertaking to control the action of seven men. There never was a more astounding fraud perpetrated upon mankind than that which is found in the monstrous pretensions of those who claim to be the majority! All that the whole business amounts to, is that one set of men seek to rule over another set of men by mere force of numbers.

An election is simply a contrivance by which heads or noses may be counted, but it determines nothing, proves nothing, so far as truth and justice are concerned. An election indicates what the majority want, or what the few who control the majority want, and what the minority may want is something that is discarded as a matter of no moment. If the minority did not vote at all, the result would not be different. What good does it do men to vote and declare their wishes, when no attention at all is paid to their preferences? But that is something that happens to every man who finds himself in the minority.

The rule that eight should control seven, is one that is entirely arbitrary. That is not necessarily the proportion which is to govern in all cases. Sometimes it is four to two, or perhaps eight to four. There is no reason in the world why the rule might not as well be established that seven should control eight, so far as the mere question of right is concerned. In fact it very often occurs that the seven, being adroit men, really govern the eight, who are not so adroit. Sometimes even one man rules eight, either from the peculiar circumstances of the case or his own superior tact or power.

I have spoken of an election already as a contrivance, but it is more than that. It is a game whereat many men play, and at which some lose, while others win. In this game the minority are the ones that are beaten—they never beat themselves, they are beaten by their antagonists, though the claim is usually made that they beat themselves. A man's case is not bettered in the least because he was allowed to play. That was only for appearance sake. He would have been beaten just the same if he had not played, or had not voted. The majority always have their way at all hazards; that is the sort of divine right that the majority pretends to have, and with which it uniformly imposes upon the minority. No man has his way simply because he has been allowed to vote. His voting has absolutely nothing to do with his rights. But if a man really has rights, the voting of ten thousand other man can never deprive him of those rights.

An election is a contest or a trial which makes neither side any stronger or better than it was, and never alters the facts of the case in the least. It is only an experiment or investigation, a form to be used for appearance sake. The majority being the stronger party mean to have their own wishes carried out, and they go through with the forms of an election merely to have the minority ratify what they are determined to have done. That is all there is of an election. Elections prove nothing, alter nothing. In that respect they are like a trial court. We risk our lives and our liberties on the result of an election, but we might just as well risk them on a throw of dice, for one is just as certain as the other. If the result of an election was not uncertain, there would be no need of an election to ascertain that result. When we consent to be governed by the result of a count, we always put ourselves in the hands of chance. We practically abandon our case. We are not compelled to do it—we do it because we choose to do it, or think it necessary to do it, but when we consent to it, we throw right and propriety to the winds. Right and propriety are not things to be voted on—they are questions to be settled in some other way. They are questions that each man must settle for himself and they cannot be settled by proxy. No amount of voting can ever make a wrong right, or a right wrong. It has often been tried, but it has never yet been accomplished.

A thing is either right or wrong, and if it is right or wrong for one, it ought to be equally right or wrong for all. Voting can neither make or unmake rights. How many there are who believe on one side and how many on the other, has nothing to do with the right or wrong of the question. I think no one pretends that there is necessarily anything right in the views of a majority. History has shown that majorities are more apt to be wrong than the minority. Ten thousand simpletons are never, in wisdom, the equal of one wise man. In fact ten thousand simpletons, all being of the same caliber, know not a whit more than one simpleton. I repeat the intimation thrown out often before, that numbers never change character. Ten thousand pennies have some characteristics that one penny does not have, but they can never be anything but ten thousand pennies. There is not one of them that has the slightest increase of value from the simple fact of its being one of ten thousand. But people on the matter of voting seem to have a different idea. They imagine that if a hundred men think so and so, it makes a stronger case than if only ninety-five think so. But if I make an assertion and a thousand men agree with me, that by no means proves that I am right. No, an election is merely a sort of compromise, a matter of expediency or necessity, and no man can maintain that it ever determines what is right or what is wrong.

It should not be forgotten, in conclusion, that allowing the majority to decide is not the only way of settling questions. It is only one among many ways, and is comparatively a modern practice. In some cases a two-thirds or a three-fourths vote is required, and some other proportion would be just as correct and would answer just as well. In many cases, as among the Russians and their village government, an unanimous vote is required, and in other countries such a thing as a comparison of voices or a counting of heads is never heard of.

There is no tyranny equal to that of a majority. One man is generally careful what he does, because he knows he will be held responsible for his deeds. But a body of men is entirely irresponsible, and therefore always does as it pleases. In practice, what is called the democratic form of government is the most despotic form known.

Where the majority rules, or where the party rules, it is the height of nonsense to talk about the people ruling as a body. There never was such a thing; there could be no such thing. When we come to analyze the matter fully, we shall find that one set of men rule another set of men. There can be no other kind of rule—no man, no people rule themselves. With us, the caucus consisting of a few men does the whole business, while a boss, like Senator Platt or Senator Hill, sends out his orders and controls the caucus.—From "Life Without a Master," by J. Wilson, Newark, N. Y.

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Perhaps the British may crush the Afrikanders by the force of superior numbers, just as our army may crush the Filipino fighters for independence. But success in wrong-doing can never justify wrong, and if England conquers the Boers she will find them turbulent subjects. If the United States should finally quell the present disturbances in the Philippines, it will have only opened a new Pandora's box of evils. No government in the world is less fitted for undertaking the responsibilities of colonial dominion than the United States.—Social Forum.

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State superintendent of schools of Nebraska has decided that the Bible may be read in the public schools and the lord's prayer repeated. Of course, before an empire can be established the youngsters must be stupefied with religious rot, otherwise they may rebel against such "blessings." The Catholic delegate of the German Reichstag let the cat out of the bag when he exclaimed: "Take religion away from the people and they will not patiently endure the misery of life."

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The birth of Christ has just been celebrated all over the civilized world. In all sheep stables, called churches, the hypocrites have glorified him who promised to redeem enslaved humanity and to bring good will and peace on earth. For two thousand years priesthood, in admirable unison with the powers that be, have mercilessly fleeced their flocks of mystified dupes, consoling them with the prospect of a paradise for the hell they endure on earth. Instead of peace and good will hatred, murder and robbery are the order of things, fostered by those who impose themselves as the representatives of Christ. But fortunately God, priestcraft and statecraft, the divine trinity of tyranny and stupefaction, are afflicted with consumption and are apt to die sooner or later, and not before humanity is redeemed of these monsters will peace and good will reign on earth.

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The law is a queer thing. Two fellows were arrested Monday for peddling pins without a license. By selling the pins they could earn enough to keep body and soul together, but they couldn't procure a license because they didn't have the price. If they begged they would have been arrested. If they resorted to stealing they would have met the same fate, and if they did not work they would have been arrested for vagrancy. The judge gave them an hour to leave town. The highways are too muddy to walk on; if they walk on the railway track they will be arrested for trespass; if they steal a ride the railroad company will have them arrested. If they stay here they will be sent to jail, and if they go somewhere else they will be unable to keep out of jail. There is something wrong.—Missouri World.

Yes, "there is something wrong," and that is the existence of government which enslaves mankind and enables the few to tyrannize and rule over the many.

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General Lawton reaped what he sowed in the Philippines—he was shot by those whom he invaded. Now his allies propose to collect $50,000 for the "poor widow." What about the poor widow of the common soldier? She is consoled with the thought that her husband died for "his country," plays the harp in paradise, and thus she starves and toils and raises more victims to be sacrificed on the altar of god, government and greed. A. I.

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THE BETTER PART.

I am an Anarchist.

All good men are Anarchists.

All cultured, kindly men; all gentle men; all just men are Anarchists.

Jesus was an Anarchist. (?—The compositor.)

A Monarchist is one who believes a monarch should govern. A Plutocrat believes in the rule of the rich. A Democrat holds that the majority should dictate. An Aristocrat thinks only the wise should decide; while an Anarchist does not believe in government at all.

Richard Crocker is a Monarchist; Mark Hanna a Plutocrat; Cleveland a Democrat; Cabot Lodge an Aristocrat; William Penn, Henry D. Thoureau, Bronson Alcott and Walt Whitman were Anarchists.

An Anarchist is one who minds his own business. An Anarchist does not believe in sending warships across wide oceans to kill brown men, and lay waste rice fields, and burn the homes of people who are fighting for liberty. An Anarchist does not drive women with babes at their breasts and other women with babes unborn, children and old men into the jungle to be devoured by beasts or fever or fear, or die of hunger, homeless, unhoused and undone.

Destruction, violence, ravages, murder, are perpetrated by statute law. Without law there would be no infernal machines, no warships, no dynamite guns, no flat-nosed bullets, no pointed cartridges, no bayonets, no policemen's billies, no night sticks, no come-alongs, no hand-cuffs, no straight jackets, no dark cells, no gallows, no prison walls to conceal the infamies therein inflicted. Without law no little souls "fresh from God" would be branded as "illegitimate," indelibly, as soon as they reach earth. Without law there would be less liars, fewer hypocrites, and no Devil's Island.

"The Cry of the Little Peoples goes up to God in vain,
For the world is given over to the cruel sons of Cain;
The hand that would bless us is weak, and the hand that would break us is strong,
And the power of pity is nought but the power of a song.
The dreams that our fathers dreamed today are laughter and dust,
And nothing at all in the world is left for a man to trust.
Let us hope no more, nor dream, nor prophesy, nor pray,
For the iron world no less will crash on its iron way;
And nothing is left but to watch, with a helpless pitying eye,
The kind old aims for the world, and the kind old fashions die."

I do not go quite so far as that—I 'm a pessimistic-optimist, Dearie,—I believe that brutality tends to defeat itself. Prize fighters die young, gourmands get the gout, hate hurts worse the man who nurses it, and all selfishness robs the mind of its insight, and cheats the soul that would know. Mind alone is eternal. He, watching over Israel, slumbers not nor sleeps. My faith is great: out of the transient darkness of the present the shadows will flee away, and Day will yet dawn.

I am an Anarchist.

No man who believes in force and violence is an Anarchist. * The true Anarchist decries all influences save those of love and reason. Ideas are his only arms.

Being an Anarchist I am also a Socialist. Socialism is the antithesis of Anarchy. One is the North Pole of Truth, the other the South. The Socialist believes in working for the good of all, while Anarchy is pure Individualism. I believe in every man working for the good of self; and in working for the good of self, he works for the good of all. To think, to see, to feel, to know; to deal justly; to bear all patiently; to act quietly; to speak cheerfully; to moderate one's voice—these things will bring you the highest good. They will bring you the love of the best, and the esteem of that Sacred Few, whose good opinion alone is worth cultivating. And further than this, it is the best way you can serve society—live your life. The wise way to benefit humanity is to attend to your own affairs, and thus give other people an opportunity to look after theirs.

If there is any better way to teach virtue than by practicing it, I do not know it.

Would you make men better—set them an example.

The millennium will never come until governments cease from governing, and the meddler is at rest. Politicians are men who volunteer the task of governing us, for a consideration. The political boss is intent on living off your labor. A man may seek an office in order to do away with the rascal who now occupies it, but for the most part office seekers are rank rogues. Shakespeare uses the word politician five times, and each time it is synonymous with knave. That is to say, a politician is one who sacrifices truth and honor for policy. The highest motive of his life is expediency—policy. In "King Lear" it is the "scurvy politician," who through tattered clothes beholds small vices, while robes and furred gowns, for him, covers all.

Europe is divided up between eight great governments, and in time of peace over three million men are taken from the ranks of industry and are under arms, not to protect the people, but to protect one government from another.

Mankind is governed by the worst—the strongest example of this is to be seen in American municipalities, but it is true of every government. We are governed by rogues who hold their grip upon us by and through statute law. Were it not for law the people could protect themselves against these thieves, but now we are powerless and are robbed legally. One mild form of coercion these rogues resort to is to call us unpatriotic when we speak the truth about them. Not long ago they would have cut off our heads. The world moves.

Governments cannot be done away with instantaneously, but progress will come, as it has in the past by lessening the number of laws. We want less governing, and the ideal government will arrive when there is no government at all.

So long as governments set the example of killing their enemies, private individuals will occasionally kill theirs. So long as men are clubbed, robbed, imprisoned, disgraced, hanged by the governing class, just so long will the idea of violence and brutality be born in the soul of men.

Governments imprison men, and then hound them when they are released.

Hate springs eternal in the human breast.

And hate will never die so long as men are taken from useful production on the specious plea of patriotism, and bayonets gleam in God's pure sunshine.

And the worst part about making a soldier of a man is, not that the soldier kills brown men or black men or white men, but it is that the soldier loses his soul.

I am an Anarchist.

I do not believe in bolts or bars or brutality. I make my appeal to the divinity in men, and they, in some mysterious way, feeling this, do not fail me. I send valuable books, without question, on a postal card request, to every part of the earth where the mail can carry them, and my confidence is never abused. The Roycorft Shop is never locked, employees and visitors come and go at pleasure, and nothing is molested. My library is for any one who cares to use it.

Out in the great world women occasionally walk off the dock in the darkness, and then struggle for life in the deep waters. Society jigs and ambles by, with a coil of rope, but before throwing it, demands of the drowning one a certificate of character from her pastor, or a letter of recommendation from her Sunday school superintendent, or a testimonial from a school principal. Not being able to produce the document the struggler is left to go down to her death in the darkness.

A so-called "bad woman" is usually one whose soul is being rent in an awful travail of prayer to God that she may lead an honest life. Believing this, the Roycroft principle is to never ask for such a preposterous thing as a letter of recommeddation from anyone. We have a hundred helpers, and while it must not be imagined by any means that we operate a reform school or a charitable institution, I wish to say that I positively refuse to discriminate between "good" and "bad" people. I will not condemn, nor for an instant imagine that it is my duty to resolve myself into a section of the Day of Judgment.

I fix my thought on the good that is in every soul and make my appeal to that. And the plan is a wise one, judged by results. It secures you loyal helpers, worthy friends, gets the work done, aids digestion and tends to sleep o' nights. And I say to you, that if you have never known the love, loyalty and integrity of a proscribed person, you have never known what love, loyalty and integrity are.

I do not believe in governing by force, or threat, or any other form of coercion. I would not arouse in the heart of any of God's creatures a thought of fear, or discord, or hate, or revenge. I will influence men, if I can, but it shall be only by aiding them to think for themselves; and so mayhap, they, of their own accord will choose the better part—the ways that lead to life and light.—Fra Elbertus, in the Philistine.

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COMRADE MOST'S PROPAGANDA.

For the first time in the history of San Francisco was Anarchism expounded in the Metropolitan Temple, one of the largest halls of this city. He spoke in English and, although very hoarse, the audience seemed to be very much pleased with the lecture, judging from the frequent applause that followed his most radical utterances. Even the reporters of the daily press must have been rather favorably impressed, for none of them have attempted to misrepresent or pervert the lecture.

The following is quoted from the Examiner:

Herr Johann Most, the Anarchist, spoke at Metropolitan Hall last night to an audience that nearly half-filled the auditorium and loudly applauded the speaker, who announced himself as "the despised and notorious Anarchist who has been driven from France, Germany, England, Switzerland, Austria and Belgium and has been received with hesitation and mistrust in America."

Herr Most defined Anarchists as a people who aim at the highest form of society and opposed murder in all its forms, and especially as committed by the English in South Africa, the Americans in the Philippines and "the capitalistic murders committed day by day." He claimed that America is drifting rapidly into imperialism and that the country would be converted into a monarchy sooner than expected: that it was for this a larger army and navy is being created.

"The old motto of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' has given place to 'Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery,'" he said.

* But an Anarchist believes in resisting tyranny and exploitation and is thus compelled to meet force with force as a matter of self-protection. A. I.

He was positive that existing society would soon go to pieces and urged Anarchists to organize for the time when the red flag would be the only one throughout the world.

The next lecture was delivered under the auspices of the German Freethought Society, the subject being "Religious Humbug and Common Sense," and it was here where comrade Most exhibited himself as an eloquent, original and witty public speaker.

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SOWING THE SEED.

II.

Not so very long ago a correspondent of Free Society expressed a longing for the time to come when a temple will be built and dedicated to the propaganda of Anarchism.

There are few if any among us today who could with some semblance of probability prophesy the arrival of that time. Neither am I in the position to herald the dawning of that era in our quarters. But still there are surprises in store for the tribe of the pessimists, who, it must be acknowledged, are not wanting in our own ranks. As such a surprise we may certainly designate the fact of our comrade's having been given the opportunity to air the views of the Anarchists of today in one of the halls of the Public High School of Hammond, Ind.

The Culture Club of Hammond having heard of the presence of V. de Cleyre in the—well,—call it whatever your disposition may prompt you to, in the geographies the point is marked: Chicago—they hastened to secure an address by our guest. The date settled on was Nov. 16 and the subject chosen: "Why I am an Anarchist." The validity of the reasons which contributed to the making of Voltairine de Cleyre an Anarchist and outlined in that address, may be judged by those who can read and criticize, when it appears in these columns.

Confining myself to the minor and outer facts attendant upon the occasion I shall state: The house was well filled, which means a presence of from 300 to 350. Ladies bonnets rivalled with men's head covers in that hall on that night and in point of numbers outrivalled the latter. This much for sex. The cards which summoned this "select" audience, because such it no doubt was for a place like Hammond were given out partially by the members of the Culture Club and partially by the members of a *local church*.

The judges, lawyers (including the district attorney) and other members of that community who may with justice be termed "cultured," whatever that may mean, were present in the hall.

The lecturer was listened to with great attention and the impression produced by her address was not of a superficial nature.

The thinking portion of that audience (I am informed by a man who knows and speaks to everybody in Hammond) admitted, regardless of their station in society as upholders of "the law of the land," because that admission comes from such, that "Anarchism is a deep philosophy and aims at high ideals."

Our evolutionary friends may rejoice. It took twelve years after the strangling of A. R. Parsons and his comrades until they were dead, dead, dead,—before "some men of the law" in a town not twenty miles distant from Chicago, perceived in Anarchy as the aim and Anarchism as a method something more radiant than did the dead Grinnell and the still vegetating —Gary.

On Friday, Nov. 17, our guest delivered her last address here before the Single Tax Club. The subject was: "A Comparison of the English and American Radical Movements." The substance consisted of impressions made upon our comrade during a visit paid by her to Great Britain some two years ago.

There were, according to the lecturer, far more brighter points in both English life and the radical movement over there than Columbia can boast of. Still the situation is not hopeless in the land of the Yerkeses, Quays and Merrits.

The points in favor of America are: The far more independent spirit of the American woman and the more solid character of the lectures delivered here upon social topics as compared to those of the other side of the Atlantic. The worship entertained by the average American for the policeman received a few sound raps.

Where our weakness is most apparent is in the culture of and the carrying on of debates.

The lecturer's assertion regarding the intolerance of debators here was fairly illustrated by the arrogance and bigotry of one of the Single Taxers displayed in the discussion, in a manner that does little credit to the believers in the "great misnomer," were I narrow-minded enough to make the whole body responsible for the action of one individual.

Innocent as the subject of the lecture was the Single Taxers saw fit for some to me unaccountable reason to lead into the field their best war-horse in their own estimation. Prof. Loomis was singled out toreply on behalf of the Single Tax Club to Comrade de Cleyre.

Though of a very mild temper and totally void of aggressiveness and acrimony in debate, our comrade was not slow in sending the professor home a richer and wiser man in some points pertaining to human and social affairs than he came to that meeting.

A lively discussion participated in by Socialists, Single Taxers and others, in which the former scored a few telling points from the Henry George-ites, followed the address.

The audience was unusually large on this occasion.

The effects of an Anarchists' appearance upon their platform, the result no doubt of the bad odor issuing from the presence among the Single Taxers of the "only two millionaires" gained in the twenty years of propaganda, are of a nature not very favorable to the invitation of Anarchist lecturers before the club in the future. Poor beings! Such are the effects of the poison of respectability and political machination. People shirk the light of instruction and grow disurbed at the prospect of seeing their hobbies exploded.

On the whole the visit of Comrade de Cleyre to Chicago will mark a bright little spot and contribute considerably towards the clearing of the atmosphere of prejudice against Anarchism and help in paving the way for future still broader and wider inroads into the realm of ignorance and misconception of an idea much dreaded and yet destined to prove so beneficial to man as is the conviction of

ANN AITCHLEE.

Chicago, Ill.

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ANARCHISTIC CRIMES.

Anarchism is beginning to trouble the minds of those living in comfort and luxury. Not so long ago it was only the daily prostituted press that did its utmost to portray the Anarchists as monsters, murderers and robbers, ripe for the insane asylums and the gallows. But Anarchism is growing nevertheless and now the different magazines come to the aid of the daily scribes in order to check the desire for freedom. All in vain, gentlemen: gallows and prisons are poor arguments and are only fostering and nursing the ideas you attempt to suppress.

In the September number of the Political Science Quarterly, Gustavo Tosti, of New York, pollutes himself under the heading of "Anarchistic Crimes." "Anarchism," he says, "represents but one variety in the development of the thought which runs through the different theories, known by the name of Socialism." He then classifies the schools of Socialism into two groups and gives, as he claims, precisely the interpretation of Anarchism as advocated by Saverio Merlino, the well-known Italian Anarchist, in his work "Pro e Contra il Socialismo" (Milan, 1897). "It is a misleading assertion," he continues, "that Socialism has nothing in common with Anarchism; historically and theoretically both are branches of the same tree."...."Anarchism is a sort of a refuge for all intellectual classes: it is a drain, collecting the irreducible residuum of unassimilated minds, the waste product of a social culture.....

"The doctrine of Anarchism in its latest development presents crime in its two typocal forms, murder and theft, as the only possible means of reaching the ideal of society"...."the theory is poisonous and must not be left to exert its tremendous power of contamination"....."it is not enough to punish the murderers and thieves of Anarchism and to extend the law of extradition to such criminals: it is necessary also to punish as a crime the propaganda of murder and theft by speech and writing."

Comment is hardly necessary; for if the State and its learned tools, who have charge of the public schools and colleges, where the youth is taught to be obedient and to honor the State and that patriotism is the highest of all virtues, so as to raise willing and faithful slaves, resorts to persecution and the gallows as their final argument, it conclusively shows that the teachings of a handful of Anarchists are more powerful than those of the press, schools, colleges, pulpits and politicians combined and that the State and its men of instruction are mentally bankrupt, i. e. as far as the remedy of social evils is concerned.

Of course, Anarchists advise the eqpropriation of the stolen goods from the thieves called capitalists and property-holders, and as it is not to be expected that these legalized robbers will surrender the plunder by persuasion, but will kill and murder all who shall dare to demand the stolen goods back, forcible means will have to be employed in order to get rid of this infernal system of tyranny and robbery, and it is for this reason Tosti calls the Anarchists murderers and thieves.

If somebody should steal Tosti's horse he would not even think it necessary to persuade the thief to give up the booty; he would simply take his horse without any argument, but when the robbed worker manifests an inclination to appropriate his products which have been stolen from him openly and by mere force, Mr. Tosti advises to hang not the robbers, but the robbed victims.

A. I.

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TWO WOMEN IN THE ARENA.

Almon Hensley of New York and Mabel MacCoy Irwin of Boston, in the Arena, show that they have not begun to see the true evils of society. They entirely ignore the fact that neither Church nor State has the slightest right to interfere in the marriage question, or "ideal marriage," as they term it. Both women fail to realize that the most "ideal" condition is freedom, and the essential for that is free land. Of course the poor men get abused. Mrs. Hensley quotes Edward Carpenter as saying, "Sex in man is an unorganized passion."

Mrs. Irwin thanks God for several things, without defining which God she refers to, and says: "There are signs of the times that cannot be ignored by any who, with hope long deferred, have been waiting for the coming of the Prince of Peace." She does not say if this Prince is McKinley, Joe Chamberlain, the Prince of English screw manufacturers. She also refers to God and war and it is plain sailing for the gods in America's little fight with the Filipinos,—they have each their own God to appeal to for help in killing the other fellows; but in the case of the Boers and the English, God is really very much to be pitied; he must be in a fearful dilemma, because it is the same God that both sides expect help from.

Mrs. Irvin quotes: "Whoso looketh at a woman [any woman] to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." This is presumably from the Bible, but is not correctly quoted, it is, however, near enough for all purposes, and naturally leads up to the thought that, if this God who made man *was* omnipotent, why did he put a "lust" into his constitution and then bully him for using it?

Another quotation is given: "gotten a man from the Lord." Please notice, here the man is not the cause, only the effect, so the ladies can only blame the Lord in such cases. Her best quotation, however, is the following: "Joseph knew not Mary till she brought forth a son." (Wrongly quoted again. K-J.) Then Mrs. Irwin adds—not a quotation this time, but her own idea: "so should it be with all husbands and wives." Really, the editor of the Arena should have given in a footnote some calculation as to the probable number of "holy ghosts" that would be needed to carry on the reproduction of the race on Mrs. Irwin's new method. What an Arena! The holy ghosts should make women only and then there would in a generation be no men to rave at, and would probably be the quickest plan yet suggested to arrive at the millennium. Then again the questions arise, Would it be peaceful and quiet? Would it not be a little monotonous without a devil or a man and therefore not appreciated by womenly women?

Mrs. Irwin designates her article "The Right of a Child to be Well Born." Madam, no child can be well born unless it is free born, and it cannot be free born unless there is land free for its father's and mother's use, and its own when the time comes that it needs it.

Referring again to "gotten a man from the Lord," if this is the same Lord that said, "the land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine" (Leviticus 25: 23), these ladies might employ their time and the pages of the Arena, and enable also the readers to use their time, on the fundamental question of all reforms—free land. There are no rights in any country where the land is sold except the Rights of the landlords, and those are all Wrongs.

KINGHORN-JONES.

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CONSUMPTION AND HOARDING.

Mr. Byington endeavors to protect hoarding against criticism by a shower of what he calls scattering shot, videlicet suggestions and conundrums. He wants to know what is the economic difference between spending a penny for tobacco to burn and throwing it over Niagara. I can see many differences; but the shortest way is to acknowledge that there is none of the kind he means. If a great many producers would give their product for pence to throw away, they would undoubtedly raise the value of pence, and thus direct labor to the production of wealth in that particular form; therefore, no doubt, one producer who throws away a penny does a little towards the same result. And what then? Mr. Byington also wants to know why getting and keeping a punch bowl is to be called consumption, but getting and keeping a dollar hoarding. Because, I reply, a dollar is not, like a punch bowl, a commodity for which the demand depends upon its capacity to satisfy desire directly, so that getting it, etc., causes production, but an instrument of exchange, for which the demand depends on its capacity to satisfy desire indirectly, so that keeping it checks production. Except a few misers, who do not sensibly affect the market because they are so few, no one keeps a dollar to look at or play with. He keeps it with a view to raising its value by making dollars scarce. In so doing he checks production; and in checking production he makes the world poorer that he may make himself richer. This is why the world has no cause to regard him as a benefactor; and why the Poor Richard gospel of saving is a mischevious one. Allow me, in conclusion, to suggest to Mr. Byington that the "scattering shot" method of argument is a good deal played out. Ingersoll worked it for all it was worth: Gladstone, in reviewing him, showed how it may be used to render a rational answer impracticable without proving anything; and thus it had come to be regarded as a rather poor controversial trick before it was adopted by so many writers who have less originality than Ingersoll.

* * *

It seems to me that A. A Orcutt's criticism on my proposition "consumption is the final cause of production" abundantly refutes itself; but since he thinks this proposition has nothing to do with Anarchism, or even "carries the idea that somehow idleness, and the hoarding of the products stolen from labor, and holding the wealth thus gained as a demand against labor can be productive of wealth," I will tell him how this looks to me. My other critic, Byington, has no difficulty in seeing that my thesis is opposed to hoarding. Since consumption is the final cause of production, hoarding any products, whether stolen or one's own, tends to stop production and delay the increase of wealth. The principal motive for such hoarding is that "the wealth so gained" can, under the systems of government, be invested in land, charters of monopoly, in some countries still slaves, all which operations come under one head very well described by Mr. Orcutt as "a demand against labor." Most certainly such demands, the investments in which they consist, the government which makes the investments possible, and the hoarding which the government encourages, are not productive of wealth, but quite the contrary. It is the evident interest of producers to oppose them. I think this has something to do with Anarchism. But this is not all. It is the interest of every one to oppose them, unless he either already possesses or is sure of being able to acquire a demand on the labor of others sufficient for his support in idleness. I also think, though that is less easily proved, that in the long run even millionaires, actual or possible, will find themselves benefitted by Anarchy; the disappearance of hoarding; free expenditure; and increased production. The augmentation of the world's wealth which this equitable system must cause will more than make up to them for the immediate loss. These principles, if accepted, must effect in economy a revolution similar to that which Copernicus made in astronomy. This is why I am interested in them, proud of them, and solicitous for their propagation. Orthodox economy begins with capital, actually (in MacCullock) makes it the cause of labor. Socialism perceives that labor is not the effect but the cause of capital. Yet even this is too narrow and special a view. The consumer alone is universal man. The capitalists and the laborers alike are classes. Not till we begin generalizing from the standpoint of the consumer do we reach the Anarchistic center from which all phenomena fall into their true order. C. L JAMES.

SLAVERY IN SULU.

In 1865 I was in Calcutta, and I saw there a young Scotch sailer who had been captured as a boy by pirates and for several years held as a slave on the island of the Sulu archipelago. He had been compelled to do the hardest and most drudging toil, to live on the coarsest and most loathsome food, to pull oar in pirate galleys, to go without clothing except a cloth around his loins, to sleep in filthy huts with Negrito, Malay, Chinese, Tagal and Dyak slaves, to be scourged and lacerated; to be reviled daily and hourly as a christian dog. This is the sort of thing we have legalized by the treaty with the Brother of the Faithful, His Majesty the Sultan of all the Sulus. This is the kind of "property" that the President proposes to protect "under the stars and stripes."

It is no mitigation of the offensiveness of this treaty that the slave can purchase his freedom for twenty dollars. The poor Scotch boy I have just mentioned could never have raised that much money on Mindano as a slave, nor in fact any money, for all he had and all he was, was his master's. The mention of the condition of freedom binds tightly the chains of every Sulu slave; it affirmatively recognizes the right of ownership of one man by ano her. It dooms the slave to perpetual slavery until he can raise twenty dollars, which will be never. There is no inhabation against new enslavements, against life-long property in in sl veborn children; against any of the cruelties and horrors of slavery.

The President says that there is to be, in the Philippines, "an established government of law and order, protecting life and property." Does he mean, as his treaty of five days before he made this utterance would seem to imply, a Fugitive Slave law, a slave-hunting order, and the protection of the slave-holder in his slave-property, white or black? The old Fugitive Slave law was a "law and order" measure for the protection of "property." Is it to be re-enacted for the benefit of His Royal Highness of Sulu, chief suzerain to His Imperial Majesty, William the Only, of the Americo-Oceanican empire?—John W. Leonard, in Social Forum.

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